

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BRASIL 08683 01 OF 02 191532Z

44

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ARAE-00 /047 W

----- 028905

O R 191130Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6475 IMMEDIATE

INFO AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

AMEMBASSY ASUNCION

AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS CZ

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 8683

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR DATE TIME GROUP 191130Z VICE 181130Z)

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, BR

SUBJECT: ELECTION RESULTS: PRELIMINARY RETURNS

REF: BRASILIA 8612

SUMMARY: WHILE THE RETURNS ARE NOT COMPLETE, THE  
OPPOSITION MDB SEEMS WELL ON THE WAY TO A VICTORY  
OF SURPRISING PROPORTIONS, PROBABLY AS A RESULT  
INTER ALIA OF THE INCREASED COST OF LIVING, THE  
ABSENCE OF GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE IN THE CAMPAIGN  
AND THE ELECTIONS, AND THE MDB'S TACTICALLY SUPERIOR  
CHOICE OF CANDIDATES. THERE IS AS YET NO SIGN OF  
GOVERNMENT REACTION, AND OPPOSITION LEADERS ARE  
CLEARLY SEEKING TO HEAD OFF ANY NEGATIVE DEVELOPMENTS  
IN THAT RESPECT. IN THE MEANTIME, IT IS EXPECTED  
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PAGE 02 BRASIL 08683 01 OF 02 191532Z

THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND

THE POLITICAL CLASS WILL UNDERGO MODIFICATIONS.  
END SUMMARY.

1. WHILE THE VOTES ARE STILL BEING COUNTED, THE  
OPPOSITION MDB IS AS OF THIS WRITING WELL ON  
ITS WAY TO OBTAINING THE HOPED-FOR ONE-THIRD OF  
THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES (REFTEL), TO GAINING CONTROL  
OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES OF THE RIO GRANDE DO SUL,  
SAO PAULO, GUANABARA, AND RIO DE JANEIRO STATE  
(CONTROL OF THE LAST TWO MEANS IT WILL ALSO CONTROL  
THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF THE NEW STATE), AND TO  
SEEING ELECTED BETWEEN 12 AND 15 OF ITS 21 SENATORIAL  
CANDIDATES (IT PRESENTED NO CANDIDATE IN MARANHAO).  
MDB SENATE VICTORIES SEEM ASSURED IN RIO GRANDE DO SUL,  
RIO STATE, SANTA CATARINA, RIO GRANDE DO NORTE, CEARA, PARANA,  
PARAIBA, ESPIRITO SANTO, GUNABARA, MINAS GERAIS,  
AND SAO PAULO: IN THE LAST THREE, THE MDB CANDIDATE'S  
VOTE SO FAR IS MORE THAN DOUBLE THAT OF HIS OPPONENT.

2. REACTION SO FAR HAS INCLUDED AN ELEMENT OF  
UNABASHED SURPRISE ON THE PART OF EVERYONE CONCERNED, INCLUDING  
THE MDB: WHILE THE MDB HAD GENERALLY BEEN  
EXPECTED TO IMPROVE ITS POSITION, NO ONE  
(AT LEAST SO FAR) IS CLAIMING TO HAVE FORESEEN AN  
MDB VOTE OF THESE PROPORTIONS. THE THREE QUESTIONS  
THAT HAVE IMMEDIATELY ARISEN ARE THUS (A) HOW IT  
HAPPENED: (B) WHAT IT MEANS AND (C) WILL IT BE  
ACCEPTED.

3. THE RELATIVE DEARTH HERE OF PRECISE VOTER  
INFORMATION MEANS THAT WE MAY NEVER KNOW FOR SURE  
JUST WHAT FACTORS ACCOUNTED IN WHAT DEGREE FOR THE  
MDB VOTE. WHAT THE FACTORS ARE, HOWEVER, SEEKS  
CLEAR ENOUGH: FIRST, AS WAS WELL NOTED BEFOREHAND,  
THIS YEAR'S RISE IN THE COST OF LIVING HAD LED TO  
A GROWTH OF DISCONTENT, A FACTOR WHICH THE  
UNSCHEDULED WAGE INCREASE (BRASILIA 8159) SOUGHT,  
EVIDENTLY WITH PARTIAL SUCCESS AT BEST, TO COUNTER.  
OUR PRILIMINARY JUDGEMENT, HOWEVER, IS THAT THE BREAD-  
AND-BUTTER PROVIDED THE ESSENTIAL BACKDROP FOR  
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PAGE 03 BRASIL 08683 01 OF 02 191532Z

POPULAR DISCONTENT, BUT THAT THERE WERE ALSO  
IMPORTANT POLITICAL FACTORS AT PLAY. IN THIS SENSE,  
WE IDENTIFY TWO ELEMENTS : ONE REFLECTS A PROTEST  
AGAINST THE ESSENTIALLY CLOSED SYSTEM OF THE PAST,  
A SYSTEM IN WHICH THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT RULED  
IN HIGH-HANDED FASHION, IMMUNE TO PUBLIC SENTIMENT  
AND IMPERVIOUS TO THE PREROGATIVES (HOWEVER LIMITED)  
AND PLEAS OF THE POLITICAL CLASS. SOME PRESS

COMMENTARY HAS EMPHASIZED THE ESSENTIALLY "DEMOCRATIC AVOCATION" OF THE BRAZILIAN PEOPLE. THE OTHER ELEMENT REFLECTS THE FACT THAT THESE ELECTIONS REPRESENTED REAL POLITICS: AS WAS WIDELY COMMENTED DURING THE CAMPAIGN, OFTEN WITH SOME SURPRISE, THE REAL ISSUES WERE DEBATED IN AN UNUSUALLY OPEN ATMOSPHERE, AND PEOPLE BEGAN TO FEEL THAT THEIR VOTE MIGHT REALLY COUNT FOR SOMETHING. WHILE ALL THE RETURNS ARE NOT IN, THE EVIDENCE SO FAR OF A DROP IN ABSTENTIONS AND BLANK VOTES SUPPORTS THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS ELEMENT.

4. THE OPENNESS OF THE CAMPAIGN, THE FACT THAT THESE ELECTIONS WERE GENUINE IN A WAY NOT KNOWN SINCE 1964, IS THE BACKGROUND FOR ANOTHER FACTOR IN THE RELATIVE SHOWING OF THE TWO PARTIES, WHICH IS THE DIFFERENCE IN THE WAY THE TWO PARTIES CHOSE THEIR CANDIDATES. PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO SENATORIAL CANDIDATES, ARENA LET ITSELF BE LULLED BY THE HO-HUM ATMOSPHERE OF THE PRE-CAMPAIGN PERIOD, AND IN MANY CASES SETTLED FOR OLD WAR-HORSES OR OTHERWISE SOUGHT TO PLACATE LOCAL FACTION LEADERS OR REWARD LOYAL WORKERS, SOMETIMES TO THE DETRIMENT OF LOCAL PARTY UNITY. THE MDB, ON THE OTHER HAND, LESS HAMPERED BY HIERARCHICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS, WENT FOR CANDIDATES WITH DEMONSTRATED OR IDENTIFIABLE VOTE APPEAL WHO PROCEEDED TO HIT THE HUSTINGS IN AN ENERGETIC AND EFFECTIVE WAY, AND WITH COHESIVE PARTY SUPPORT. CAUGHT BY SURPRISE WHEN THE CAMPAIGN FLOWERED, ARENA WAS NEVER ABLE TO RECOVER. THE SPREAD OF TELEVISION, A FACTOR WHICH SEVERAL OBSERVERS (INCLUDING SOCIOLOGIST GILBERTO FREYRE) CALLED IMPORTANT TO THE RESULTS,

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PAGE 04 BRASIL 08683 01 OF 02 191532Z

CAN ONLY HAVE SERVED TO MAGNIFY THIS DIFFERENCE, IN THE THTIES WHERE THE MDB DERIVES ITS PRINCIPAL SUPPORT IN ADDITION TO CUTTING INTO ARENA'S PREVIOUS STRENGTH IN RURAL AREAS.

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PAGE 01 BRASIL 08683 02 OF 02 191226Z

21

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /047 W

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O R 181130Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6476

INFO AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 8683

5. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTION RESULTS FOR BRAZIL'S FUTURE WILL OF COURSE DEPEND ALMOST ENTIRELY ON THE REACTION OF THE REVOLUTION, AND SO FAR GOVERNMENT AND ARENA LEADERS ARE REMAINING ESSENTIALLY QUIET. REACTION IN GENERAL STARTS WITH THE QUESTION OF JUST HOW THE RESULTS ARE TO BE DEFINED, A MATTER WHICH BEGAN TO BE DEBATED WHILE THE CAMPAIGN WAS STILL ON. THUS, WHILE THERE WAS A WIDESPREAD TENDENCY TO SPEAK OF AN IMPROVED MDB SHOWING AS AN MDB "VICTORY" (AND EVEN TO SPEAK OF THE MDB CAPTURING A STATE WHEN IN FACT IT HAD ONLY ELECTED ONE SENATOR), SOME OBSERVERS BEGAN TO POINT OUT THAT BECAUSE ARENA WOULD RETAIN A COMFORTABLE MAJORITY IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS, IT WAS REALLY ARENA WHICH HAD WON.

6. IN ALL BUT THAT SENSE, OF COURSE, THESE ELECTIONS MUST BE COUNTED A VICTORY FOR THEMDB.  
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PAGE 02 BRASIL 08683 02 OF 02 191226Z

THE REAL QUESTION IS WHETHER AN MDB VICTORY WILL BE CONSIDERED, AT THIS STAGE IN THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT, A VICTORY FOR BRAZIL, AS SOME ARE ALREADY CALLING IT. IT IS WORTH RECALLING THAT AS THE CAMPAIGN WAS GETTING UNDER

WAY, THE GREAT FEAR -- IN ADMINISTRATION CIRCLES AS WELL -- WAS THAT THE MDB WOULD DO SO POORLY THAT THE REVOLUTION WOULD BE DEPRIVED OF THE BENEFITS (BOTH REAL AND WINDEO-DRESSING) OF ITS EXISTENCE. THERE DEVELOPED THE NOTION THAT THE MDB SHOULD DO WELL, BUT NOT TOO WELL, I.E. NOT SO WELL AS TO APPEAR THREATENING TO THE REGIME ITSELF, OR TO GENERAL PUBLIC AND POLITICAL STABILITY.

7. WHETHER IT WILL SO APPEAR TO THE REVOLUTION REMAINS TO BE SEEN, AND WE WILL BE REPORTING REACTION IN THAT AREA AS IT DEVELOPS. IN THE MEANTIME, MDB LEADERS, CLEARLY HOPING TO AVOID ADVERSE REACTION, ARE PUTTING FORTH THE LINE THAT THE RETURNS WERE HEALTHY AND NOT NEGATIVE, AND THAT THE MDB WILL BEHAVE IN A MEASURED AND STUDIED MANNER. THUS, MDB PRESIDENT ULYSSES GUIMARAES CALLED THE VOTE A DEMONSTRATION OF "THE POLITICAL MATURITY OF THE PEOPLE", WHILE THE MDB NATIONAL CAMPAIGN MANAGER, SENATOR FRANCO MONTORO, PROMISED "THE MDB IS GOING TO SIT DOWN IN ORDER TO THINK ABOUT AND ANALYZE CAREFULLY ALL THESE RESULTS ON THE NATIONAL AND STATE PLANE AND WILL NOT TAKE HASTY ATTITUDES", ADDING THAT THE INCOMING GOVERNORS SHOULD NOT EXPECT "HOSTILE ATTITUDES" FROM THE OPPOSITION MAJORITIES (IN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES WHERE THEY OCCUR) BUT THAT THE "GOVERNMENT MONOLOGUE" WILL BE REPLACED BY A "DEMOCRATIC DIALOGUE". MONTORO ALSO JOINED IN THE WIDESPREAD PRAISE OF GEISEL OR THE ABSENCE OF GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE IN THE CAMPAIGN AND THE ELECTIONS, DECLARING "IT IS JUST TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, WITHIN REGULAR RESPECT FOR LAW, ASSURED TO THE PARTIES THE INDESPENSABLE LIBERTY FOR POLITICAL DEBATE. THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BRASIL 08683 02 OF 02 191226Z

PARTIES, FOR THEIR PART, KNEW HOW TO RISE TO THIS CONFIDENCE AND TO THE RESPONSIBILITY WHICH IS THEIRS IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, CARRYING OUT A CAMPAIGN ON A HIGH PLANE WITH AN OBJECTIVE DEBATE ON PROBLEMS OF INTEREST TO THE BRAZILIAN POPULACE".

8. ON A PRELIMINARY BASIS, IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND THE POLITICAL CLASS WILL UNDERGO MODIFICATIONS BY THE FORCE OF CIRCUMSTANCES. IT COULD BE FORESEEN THAT THE NEXT CONGRESS WILL BE A

DIFFERENCE CREATURE THAN ITS PREDECESSOR: THE  
OPPOSITION'S POWER TO ESTABLISH PRELIMINARY COMMITTEES  
OF INQUIRY WITH THE RIGHT TO SUBPOENA  
WITNESSES; TO INTERPELLATE CABINET MINISTERS; AND  
TO PRESENT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS FOR CONSIDERATIONS,  
WILL RESULT IN A MUCH LIVELIER LEGISLATURE. THE  
ARENA IS EXPECTED TO OVERHAUL ITS NATIONAL LEADERSHIP  
AND LOCAL PARTY DIRECTORATES AND POSSIBLY TO PLACE  
GREATER RELIANCE ON SUCH PARTY STALWARTS AS  
SENATORS JOSE SARNEY, DANIEL GRIEGER, LUIZ VIANA  
AND SEVERAL OTHERS WHO HAVE GENERALLY BEEN DISREGARDED  
BY THE REVOLUTION BECAUSE OF THEIR PROFESSIONAL-  
POLITICIAN CAST. THE GOVERNORS OF SAO PAULO,  
RIO GRANDE DO SUL, THE FUSION STATE OF RIO DE  
JANEIRO, AND POSSIBLY MINAS GERAIS, WILL ALL HAVE  
TO COOPERATE WITH STRONG OPPOSITION MAJORITIES  
IN THEIR STATE LEGISLATURES. THE ARENA  
STRATEGY OF INDIRECT ELECTIONS FOR GOVERNORS  
WILL HAVE TO BE REVISED IF THE 1978 GOVERNORSHIPS  
OF THE ABOVE STATES ARE NOT TO BE CONCEDED TO  
THE MDB. ABOVE ALL, THE INTRA-PARTY SPLITS  
WHICH SURFACED UNDER THE ARENA GUBERNATORIAL  
SELECTION PROCESS AND WERE SO DRAMATICALLY  
CONFIRMED BY THE ELECTIONS WILL HAVE TO BE  
SETTLED.

9. AS REPORTED IN REFTEL, THE 1974 CONGRESSIONAL  
ELECTIONS DEVELOPED AN IMPORTANCE FAR BEYOND  
WHAT COULD ORDINARILY HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED.

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PAGE 04 BRASIL 08683 02 OF 02 191226Z

THE ABOVE IS A VERY PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF  
THE DRAMATIC RESULTS OF THOSE ELECTIONS. THE  
EMBASSY WILL BE REPORTING CAREFULLY ON THE ABOVE  
ISSUES AS THEY ARISE AND ARE MET.

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** ELECTION RESULTS, VOTING, ELECTION FORECASTS, POLITICAL SITUATION, POLITICAL PARTIES, OPPOSITION PARTIES, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 19 NOV 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CollinP0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Office:** ACTION ARA  
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**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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